565 554 [302] [516] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [145] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [516] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513 Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the [842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which 582 are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it- self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 [793] 871 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

[651] Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifŏra were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[559] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tădemaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
● [648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifŏra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tădemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
●648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

173 Sultan Ğoma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Tâïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Tâïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Tâïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Tâïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Iħaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 631 643 648 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the Tâïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Ămâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioue1,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Aït Loaïen and the Kel-i-n-Toûnîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglân, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hînân, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

[175] previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mḳaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ămastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643] [648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ămâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ăkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ăkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ămâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

631 781 [794] The Dag Rali are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qadiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Asekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dag Rali. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dag Rali, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilaman wadi in [777] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him. They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648] about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
669] rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[123] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[69] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[62] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

[24] Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
423 of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Térourirt
Kel Ouhet

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Âdrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[799] 197 Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either [648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

563 [173] The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Âdenek, Âbezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead [221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Aziouel, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 The amrar of the Tăitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Tăitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ăhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas,' op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Tăitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the
565 vassals, proud of being called Tăitok, espouse all the rivalries of
[582] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 Thieves to end all thieves, the Tăitok have still been able to
● 648 keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions
[161] they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ăkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ădrar Ăhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrăr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

63 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab [643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the [173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Adrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Taitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hinân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Tounin women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Taitok while Sidi Mohamed was amenokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 [578] According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihaggaren and the Ajjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 ●648 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Amastân.

Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Amastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Amellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ajjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Amegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Anaba ag Amellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
[162] Kel Raris, the Dag-Khamaya, and the Dag Iknân. In all there are about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tafedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233 439] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ajjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dag Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these [411 weapons. 648]

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing: -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons [184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/

Chapter 5

Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not 241 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

	1911	1938	
Tamanrasset	150	686	
Abalessa	272	250	
I-n-Amgel	180	206	
Iglen		168	
Ideles	70	160	
Tazerouk	150	148	
Tit	75	98	had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938.
Tarhaouhaout	140	91	
Amsel	90	66	
Tahifet		39	
/248/ Tigeneouin	25	23	
Mertoutek		60	
Hirhafok		80	
Ilaman	10		

	1911	1938
T-i-n-Ămenser	36	temporarily abandoned
Tifert	50	" "
Essélésékin	30	
T-i-n-Târàbin	15	abandoned

These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târàbin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great [579] that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 679 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guccâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and
727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of
562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors.
[648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection
726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or
562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually
771 been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

● 648 The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
797 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamization of the Tuareg in general during the last

648 797 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has [582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, *32*). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

1717 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

4: Benhazera--Ill C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25 Hoggar

Lithographic printer, A. Jourdan, Algiers

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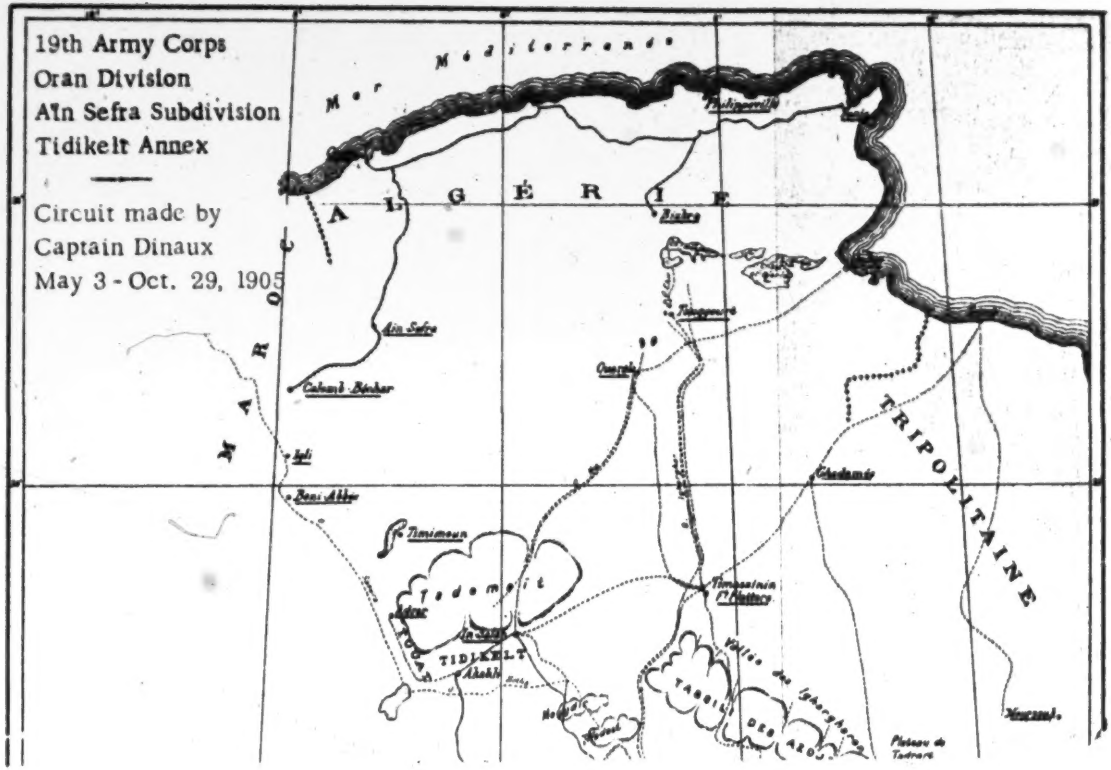
4: Benhazera--iv G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



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claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵄⵙⴼⴰⵔ, plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoaït;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⵎⴷⵉ: and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

Chapter V

The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution. 728

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the Tidikelt with it. 237 283 262 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones. 233 492 [312]

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold. 233 343

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari. 233 [435]

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and advice for this purpose. 137 233 [312 648]

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture without herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes. 233

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is 192 233

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[59] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

1947, p. 38f., phot. 13, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:–

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

6:Blanguernon--2 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/11/ I

The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

175 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown.
●648 The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

423 /67 cont./ interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 631 486 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch; [685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

● 648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

648 /68 cont./ of the underground water level, which often results in the abandonment of a site, does not permit a costly installation. About ten years ago, a former sergeant-major of the Sahara corps settled at Tiguenouine, a small center 70 kilometers south of Tamanrasset; he quickly gave up his idea of farming and became a nomad. Another Frenchman, a retired soldier, nomadizes in the Tin-Zaouaten region; he leads a life like the Tuareg, and his herds prosper.

Officials reside at Tamanrasset, lodged in administration quarters which sometimes have a small garden for family use. The community maintains a large garden where experiments in farming and arboriculture are carried out.

241 The Tuareg, as we said, are the only landowners; let us now see how they utilize their lands. As in all countries under Moslem influence, the method of agriculture is the "khamassa," with certain local variations. The khammès usually is a hartani,/69/ a Negro originally from the Tidikelt or a freed slave.

The agricultural system in the Ahaggar is supported by the foggara, which should water six to eight gardens. The proprietor of the foggara, generally a Targui, engages one khammes per garden. He will look among the harratin of the village for gardeners who will come to terms with him. An
241 oral contract is made between the proprietor and the khammès,
675 before witnesses. This contract may be summarized thus:

The proprietor agrees, first of all, to provide the land, which he has rented from the amenokal. He must also provide his gardener with water from the foggara he has had dug, with a "mesaha" (hoe), and with the necessary seed. In addition, the proprietor must clear the land at his own expense and must see to the improvement of the soil. He must advance the hartani food in the amount of 60 guessa of millet per year.

In exchange, the khammès undertakes the work in the fields, the threshing, and the upkeep of the foggara.

As "salary" he collects a fifth of the harvest. He also receives the fallen and gleaned ears, the harvest from ten

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
36| in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
62| village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2, 000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
36| water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
62| other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
● 648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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361
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/189 cont. / A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

163 /190 cont./ mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[148]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambaït

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwillemmeden* fled to
Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about
30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian
Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adrar	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwillemmeden	161.160
Tengerregif	40.000

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
567 figure for *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which
should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that
the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics
for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas
assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure
is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern
groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the
total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamacheq* in the south. It
has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*;
2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel
Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwillemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these
four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary.
The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan
script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as
it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is
very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also
widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added
that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950
would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Imrad (sing. *Amrid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iullemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Daya* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amuhar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: — It may be related to the word *Turgu* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Turgu* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezhureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Béla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwillemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Idarfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Béla*, while most members of the last

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 47. The *akala* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
● [640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

685 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take
●648 them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good
* 492 riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When
[835] a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

* 233 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding.
* 492 But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

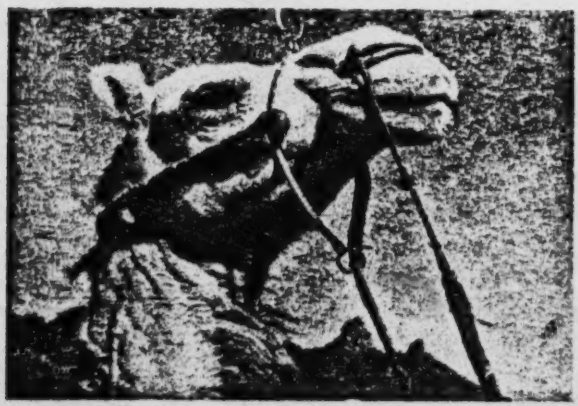

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskabbu*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskabbu*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadri*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring (*tighrar*). Ahaggar, the *Ikkan-en-tawsit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *aseɫfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslaḳ* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihuéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkoḍ*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

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Fulani M511

The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Fawan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *chorgo*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *chorgo*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *saudert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *saudert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *saudert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

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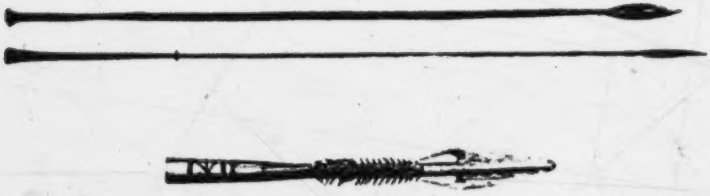

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarḍa* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allay* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarḍe*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* [648] tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanraset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarḍa;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the break-down of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ḍela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ḍela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *afiek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehit* tribe.

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Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

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Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambi* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Bu Ḥammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco. These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Bu Ḥammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamahaq*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle-types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

	Noble tribes		Vassal tribes		*Iseḫḫemaren* tribes	
	Kel Ɣela	275	*Dag Ɣali*	386	*Ihεyawen Hada*	253
	To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ɣela* women, like noble women of the *Uraɣen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.		*Ayt Lowayen*	400	*Kel Inγer*	176
			Aɣub-en-tehlé	585	*Kel Téfedest*	61
			Ɣelayddin	40	*Kel Immidir*	179
			Iklan-en-tawsit	500	*Kel Tazulet*	158
			Ibettenaten	129	The *Iseḫḫemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahemi-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hamma*, claims that they were originally their vassals.	
			Iregenaten	435		
The *Kel Ɣela* Drum-Group	These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs.					

territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ɣela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ẖeṛé-n-amaɣal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Afefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*ekkiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. Wher. the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal class from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26 × 24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinar* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Jeluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

Tradition C.1. This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:—

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a

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Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

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THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared, and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr, where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatan*, and the *Kel Asel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatan*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Asel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

Fig. 286. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadnul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

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Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[184] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.